1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[9] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p 348. - Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

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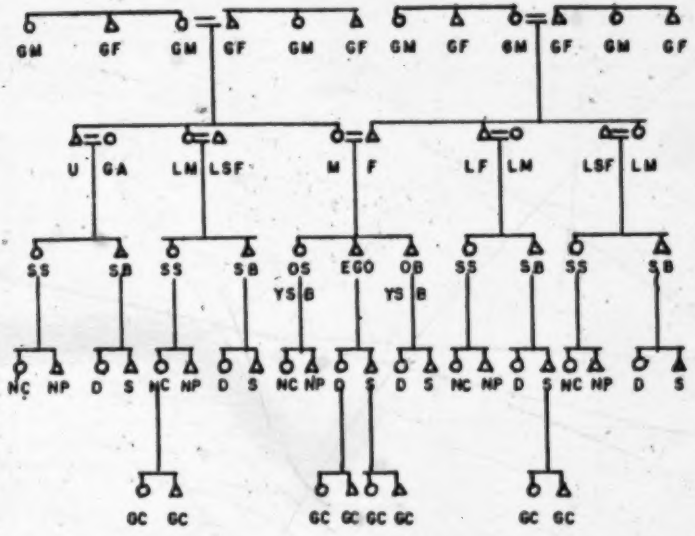
GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF
U GA LM LSF M F LF LM LSF LM
SS SB SS SB OS EGO OB SS SB SS SB
YSB YSB
NC NP D S NC NP D S NC NP D S D S NC NP D S NC NP D S
GC GC GC GC GC GC GC GC

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

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As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

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[122] Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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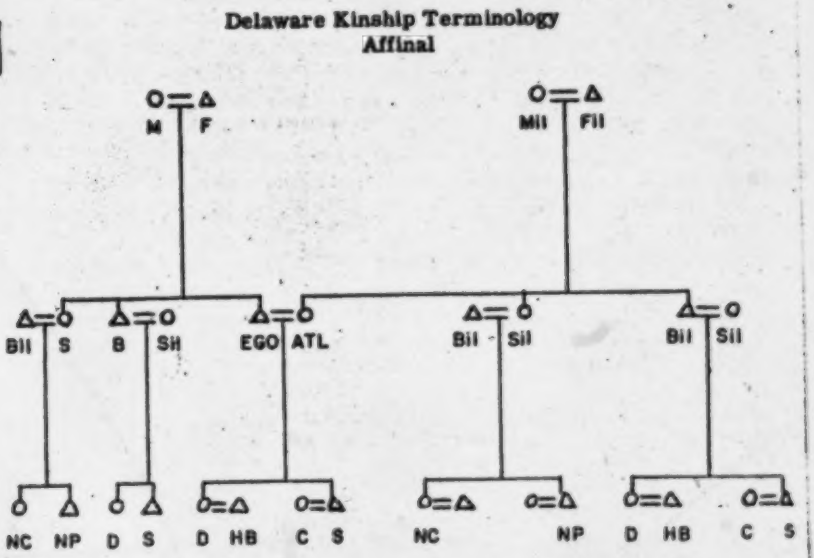

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

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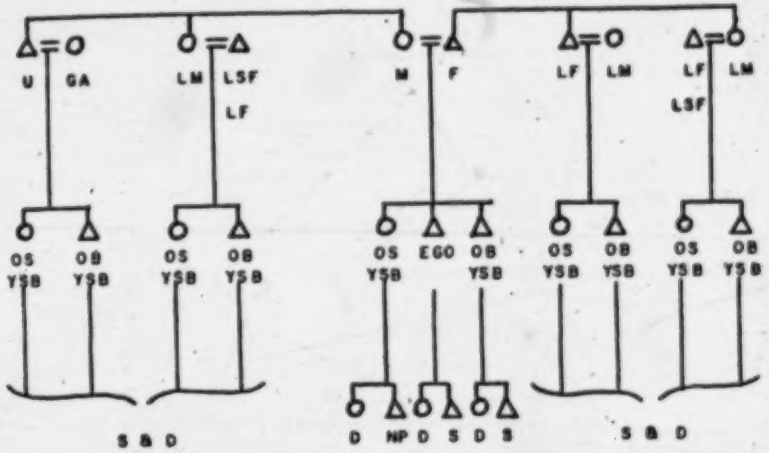

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[126] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the "Iroquois" type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[127] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[126] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[127] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

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One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind.

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The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person.

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[9] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

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[9] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

D 681

D 614

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

D [582] [183]

D [611]